

Message Text

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FOR ATHERTON

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QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 049421

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ALGIERS FOR ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, PK, US

SUBJECT:THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH BHUTTO, FEBRUARY 26

- -

1. THE SECRETARY MET WITH BHUTTO AT THE WALDORF TOWERS FOR
A DISCUSSION LASTING APPROXIMATELY 1-1/2 HOURS. BHUTTO WAS
ACCOMPANIED BY AZIZ AHMED, AMBASSADOR YAQUB AND PAKISTANI
AMBASSADOR TO THE UN IQBAL AKHUND. SISCO, LORD AND DUBS
SAT IN ON THE U.S. SIDE.

2. MOST OF THE CONVERSATION CENTERED AROUND THE SUBJECT OF
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DETENTE, SOVIET EXPANSIONIST TENDENCIES AND U.S. POLICIES.

BHUTTO SAID THAT THE THEORY OF DETENTE IS UNASSAILABLE AND THAT ITS LOGIC AND NECESSITY ARE WITHOUT QUESTION. HE SUGGESTED THAT IT IS THE PROCESS OF DETENTE WHICH GENERATES COMPLICATIONS. ACCORDING TO BHUTTO, THE PERCEPTION OF THE THIRD WORLD IS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE EXPLOITING DETENTE AS EVIDENCED BY THEIR INTERVENTION, ASSISTED BY THE CUBANS, IN ANGOLA. THE SECRETARY TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION TO BHUTTO'S LINE. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE WAS SURPRISED AT THE INTERPRETATION GIVEN TO EVENTS AND THAT BHUTTO WAS CONFUSING DETENTE WITH THE INTERNAL U.S. SITUATION WHICH HAS ENSUED FROM EVENTS SURROUNDING VIETNAM AND WATERGATE. THE PROBLEM, THE SECRETARY SAID, IS THE EROSION OF EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY AND THE OBSTRUCTIONISM OF CONGRESS. FOR EXAMPLE,

CONGRESS STOPPED U.S. ASSISTANCE TO ANGOLA IN MIDSTREAM. ANGOLA WAS MANAGEABLE IF WE HAD BEEN ABLE TO CONTINUE OUR SUPPORT TO FRIENDS. OUR BASIC CHALLENGE, THE SECRETARY ADDED, IS TRYING TO CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY WITHOUT SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE U.S. MUST CONDUCT ITS POLICY WITH ITS PERMANENT INTERESTS IN MIND AND WORK TOWARD MAINTAINING AN EQUILIBRIUM WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE ADMINISTRATION MUST BE PERCEIVED BY BOTH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND ALLIES ABROAD, LIKE EUROPE, TO BE PURSUING PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES WITH MOSCOW. IN THIS WAY, WE CAN RALLY THE NECESSARY SUPPORT FOR FIRM ACTION IN CRISES SINCE IT WILL THEN BE CLEAR IT WAS MOSCOW WHICH PROVOKED THEM. IT IS SENSELESS TO RAVE AGAINST THE SOVIETS WITHOUT THE AUTHORITY AND THE MEANS TO CARRY OUT POLICY. FURTHERMORE, A POLICY OF BLATANT CONFRONTATION WOULD SOON AROUSE DOMESTIC PRESSURES HERE AND IN ALLIED COUNTRIES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO STOP BEING PROVOCATIVE AND IN EFFECT YIELD TO SOVIET PRESSURES. IN SHORT, WE NEED TO FOLLOW A TWO-STRAND POLICY OF FIRMNESS AND CONCILIATION, AND ANY PROBLEMS WE HAVE ARE CAUSED NOT BY THE DESIGN OF DETENTE BUT THE LACK OF MEANS TO CARRY IT OUT.

3. SOME TIME WAS SPENT BY THE SECRETARY DISCUSSING THE STRATEGIC MISSILE SITUATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION. THE SECRETARY THOUGHT THAT A NUCLEAR WAR
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WOULD NOT BE FOUGHT, GIVEN THE GREAT RISKS AND THE LOSS OF MILLIONS OF LIVES THAT WOULD RESULT FROM A NUCLEAR EXCHANGE. THE SECRETARY SAID WE WOULD LIKE TO FREEZE THE NUCLEAR BALANCE SO THAT WE COULD DEVOTE MORE RESOURCES TO CONVENTIONAL FORCES, WHERE THEY ARE MOST NEEDED.

4. BHUTTO SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WERE PRESSING THE PAKISTANIS ON JOINING THE ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGE-

MENT. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE GIVING ARMS TO AFGHANISTAN AND TO INDIA AND THAT THE SOVIETS WERE THREATENING PAKISTAN THROUGH SUBVERSION. BHUTTO SAID IT WAS NECESSARY TO BUILD UP A CREDIBLE DEFENSE AGAINST THE MOSCOW-KABUL-NEW DELHI AXIS. IN RESPONSE, THE SECRETARY SAID THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT WE ARE NOW MAKING PROGRESS WITH PAKISTAN ON ARMS SUPPLIES. IN ADDITION TO THE DELIVERY OF TOWS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT, A PAKISTANI AIR FORCE TEAM WOULD BE VISITING THE U.S. SOON TO LOOK AT THE A-7. THE SECRETARY SAID PAKISTAN WAS A GOODFRIEND AND THAT WE WOULD TRY TO BE AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE BUT NOTED THE CONGRESSIONAL CLIMATE ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

5. BHUTTO RAISED THE REPROCESSING QUESTION TOWARD THE END OF THE MEETING. THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED OUR GENERAL CONCERN ABOUT HOW SUCH FACILITIES MIGHT BE USED AT A CERTAIN POINT IN TIME. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT WE HAD APPRECIATED BHUTTO'S COMMENTS DURING HIS OFFICIAL VISIT LAST YEAR TO FOREGO A NUCLEAR CAPABILITY. THIS PLACED US IN A GOOD POSITION AND GAVE US ARGUMENTS TO USE TO ASSIST PAKISTAN IN OTHER WAYS. BHUTTO ARGUED THAT THE REPROCESSING AGREEMENT HAD BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION WITH THE FRENCH FOR FOUR YEARS AND THAT THE SAFEGUARD CONDITIONS WERE STRINGENT. BHUTTO STATED THAT THE LONDON GROUP, INCLUDING THE CANADIANS AND THE FRENCH WITH WHOM THEY WERE DEALING, COULD BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR AGAINST PAKISTAN IN THE FUTURE SHOULD THEY BELIEVE IT NECESSARY TO DO SO. BHUTTO SUGGESTED THAT AN EMBRYONIC NUCLEAR CAPABILITY COULD LEAD INDIA TO AGREE TO A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, A CONCEPT NEW DELHI NOW OPPOSES. THE SECRETARY REPEATED U.S. CONCERN OVER NATIONAL REPROCESSING CAPABILITIES AND POINTED TO A REGIONAL MULTINATIONAL PLANT AS AN ALTERNATIVE BUT BHUTTO PROVIDED NO SECRET

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EVIDENCE AT ALL THAT PAKISTAN WOULD CONSIDER FOREGOING THE NATIONAL OPTION.

6. BHUTTO, AS EXPECTED, DISCUSSED THE UNRELIABILITY OF INDIA AND ASKED THAT PAKISTAN'S INTERESTS BE LOOKED AFTER REASONABLY WELL BY THE U.S. HE STATED THAT INDIA WOULD NEVER SIDE WITH THE U.S. ON A CRUCIAL ISSUE VERSUS MOSCOW AND SAID THIS BASIC FACTOR SHOULD INFLUENCE U.S. POLICY.

7. IN THE CONVERSATION, THE SECRETARY CANDIDLY ACKNOWLEDGED OUR CURRENT PROBLEMS BUT SAID THAT THE MOOD IN THE U.S. MAY BE CHANGING AND THAT THE PUBLIC IS BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THE NECESSITY OF STRONG EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY IN THE CONDUCT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. HE ENDED ON AN UPBEAT NOTE, SAYING THAT AFTER THE ELECTION WE SHOULD BE

WELL ON OUR WAY TO ONCE AGAIN PLAYING A VIGOROUS INTERNATIONAL ROLE.

8. BHUTTO'S GENERAL MOOD WAS SUBDUED, WITH DEEP CONCERN ABOUT GROWING SOVIET POWER, THE CURRENT U.S. POSTURE, AND THE IMPACT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE SUBCONTINENT. INGERSOLL

UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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